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DATING AND COURTSHIP PATTERNS, SOME EXPLORATIONS

Harold E. Smith

The principal task of this paper is the presentation of several hypotheses regarding the nature of student[1] dating and courtship patterns. Special emphasis is given to the influence of peer groups on such patterns. These formulations are derived from (1) the writer's own observations, (2) a review of the literature on this subject, and (3) "observational reports" obtained from fifty-one students in classes in the sociology of the family. The students' reports were done in response to an assignment in which they were asked to describe the dating and courtship system currently operating on the campus. In the preparation of this paper, quotations from the students' reports are included as illustrations of the hypotheses.

It has been more than twenty years since the appearance of Waller's well known writings on the subject of courtship.[2] The study and formulations presented here deal with only selected aspects of dating and courtship patterns and may provide a basis for a comparative analysis. In fact, certain similarities and differences between the present formulations and the theories of Waller, Cuber and others have been noted.[3]

The method employed in preparing this paper was largely an exploratory one. Such an approach is frequently an essential prerequisite to the actual testing of hypotheses in which empirical data

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[1] The term "student" refers to a person who is pursuing an educational program at a college or university in the United States.

[2] Williard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," *American Sociological Review*, 2 (1937) 727-734. *The Family,* New York: Cordon, 1938, Chs. 6-11; and Reuben Hill, *The Family,* New York: Holt-Dryden, 1951, Ch. 8.

[3] Williard Waller, op. cit. Chaps 6-11. John Cuber, "Changing Courtship Customs," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences,* 1943, 229, 31-34.

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are used.[4] In exploring the various areas and aspects of dating and courtship, the students' reports were very productive of ideas and hunches. As a consequence, nine hypotheses were evolved. These are presented below together with discussion and illustration.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Courtship according to LeMasters is "the process by which the individual moves from the single status of the adolescent to the married status of the adult."[5] In another context Cuber explains, "To be realistic in our day, one must study formal courtship and pre-courtship as one continuous process."[6] It seems desirable to this writer to use the expression "dating and courtship" in a sense that is compatible with each of the foregoing statements, to refer to the relationship between two young people before marriage in which there is not necessarily a commitment other than one or more temporary contacts.

Dating and courtship patterns are viewed as a part of a larger student culture complex. While many of the folkways, mores and ideals of adolescents are the same as those of their elders, other behavior patterns are unique. A continuing endeavor of sociologists has been that of identifying the patterns or norms that serve as guides and "rules" for behavior in the relationships among students relative to dating and courtship. It is assumed that not all such behavior comes within a framework of patterns or norms. In addition, the norms are seen not as sharp points or lines, but as zones after the usage of Williams.[7] Thus a particular pattern permits some variation and application, i.e., a certain degree of underconformity and overconformity is to be expected as normal.

Dating and courtship patterns are assumed to be functional, i.e., they serve as models of appropriate behavior in given situations, and include the "shoulds," the "supposed tos," the must nots," etc. Since they are an essential part of the larger student culture complex these patterns are central in the continued socialization of college students in the college community. In addition, these patterns are more or less conformed to, or are gradually modified as students interact and as conditions change. More specifically, the functions of

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[4] Claire Selltiz and Others, *Research Methods in Social Relations,* New York: Holt, 1959, Ch. 3.

[5] E. E. LeMasters, *Modern Courtship and Marriage,* New York. Macmillan, 1957, 70-71, 116-117.

[6] *Op. cit.*

[7] Robin Williams, *American Society,* New York: A. A. Knopf, 1960, 372-373.

dating and courtship include, for students, the achievement of new experience, recognition, prestige, emotional security, compatability testing and eventually a marriage partner.

INFLUENCE OF PEER GROUPS

A "peer" group is any group of age mates to which the person feels he belongs because of similar interests and common participation. In such a group the person can obtain the approval and acceptance of his "peers." Fraternities, "independent" organizations, athletic teams and student religious groups are examples of peer groups on the college campus. Peer groups may be informal as in a "clique," also. Such groups stand out in sharp contrast to church congregations, local political parties and other groups that include persons from a wide age range.

From our knowledge of the nature of social groups and their influence on individual behavior, we would expect that peer groups are potent agents for enforcing the rules of dating and courtship. In addition, they may well actually make the rules or codes that govern dating and courtship.[8] There are a number of interesting aspects to this topic. In the section immediately following, five hypotheses are presented and discussed briefly which if supported may explain some of the interrelations between peer group patterns and dating and courtship patterns. In a later section, four additional hypotheses are presented and discussed dealing with conflicts in courtship patterns and with contrasts in male and female expectations.

Hypothesis I. Peer groups provide a sense of security for members who are attempting to establish pair-dating relationships. In addition, such groups are an important channel through which acquaintances are made which may lead to courtship. The opportunity for warm, friendly contacts with age mates meets a felt need of these college students. In the peer group the young person is able to feel accepted nad worthy of the respect of his peers. This in turn aids him to feel adequate in contacts wtih persons of the opposite sex. An illustrative statement of a student follows:

> MAN. On our campus there is intense competition for dates. I transferred here as a junior. At first I found it difficult to get dates, because I knew so few people. When I did find a date, there were so few places to go. At this time my friends were limited, and in one respect I felt inadequate. After I joined a

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[8] For a discussion of peer groups as code makers see Ruth Shonle Cavan, *American Marriage,* New York: Crowell, 1959, Ch. 5,

fraternity, I became acquainted with many more people including girls in the sororities. Fraternity and sorority parties were common, and these boosted my morale. I now had somewhere to go with a date, and more friends. I met more girls through introductions by fraternity members. The feeling of inadequacy soon left, and I felt competitive once more.

Thus students' groups on the college campus may facilitate for their members, social contacts with persons of the opposite sex, and may also provide activities for dating pairs and secure social relationships.

Hypothesis II. Group dating is less preferable than pair dating and hence is used by students merely as a means to achieve contacts suitable for pair dating.[9]

Two types of group dating will be mentioned. The first of these is evident in the manner in which students participate in "mixers," "stag-drag dances" and other social events. Characteristically, both men and women attend in groups of three or more and frequently leave the event in the same way, although some pair-dating may occur, during and at the conclusion of such social events. The following quotation is illustrative:

> WOMAN. I have attended several mixers and have seen the boys come to the dance in groups, or they meet their friends at the dance. The girls come to the dance in groups also. Many of the girls would be escorted home by boys they met in this way. However, too many of the boys and girls would leave the dance in their own group, like the way they came.

In a second kind of group dating, each person retains some attachment to a group of agemates of his own sex, while engaging in paired dating with a person of the opposite sex. The "mass coke date" is described below:

> MAN. A strictly college promoted concept of dating is the mass coke date. It is usually practiced by Freshmen through their dorm social chairman. It is the chairman's duty to arrange a date with the dormitory selected. An anouncement is made in each the men's and women's dorms, and lists are posted for those interested to sign up. Before the date, the members of each group contribute a small sum to the "pig pot." This is awarded after the event to the person who dates the least desirable

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[9] The practice in which two or more couples date together (double date, etc.) is viewed in this paper as a form of pair-dating, and is not considered group dating.

person of the opposite sex. The mass coke date is the most common first date on the college campus.

Thus a pattern of *group-dating* may be seen as a functional device for new students as well as others on the college scene. Among other functions, it provides group support of both the idea of "dating" as well as "blind dating." The group also aids in determining what is an approved date.

Hypothesis III. Social pressure towards dating is normally exerted by students' peer groups. In this pattern we see the peer group acting in accord with the values and norms of the student culture complex, which includes also, patterns of dancing, parties and other coed social events. Approval of one's age mates when dating, and disapproval for not dating is a common manner in which the pressure operates. In addition, many dances and other social events are attended by dating pairs only, and persons without a date are excluded. The role of fraternities had sororities in stimulating their members to date has been discussed by J. D. Ray,[10]

WOMAN. It is reported that the fraternal organizations encourage their members to date. There is also a social pressure among the Freshmen girls since whom they date is an index of their popularity among their friends. Another girl told me of the pressure to date in her house where she stayed in town. It was a social stigma not to date, so there was an unusually high number of arranged blind dates among the housemates.

Hypothesis IV. Membership in formally organized peer groups confers prestige upon members, the amount of which depends on the prestige rating held by the group in the larger student community. J. D. Ray has made a similar observation regarding the "positive" prestige conferred by fraternities on their members.[11] Much importance is attached to the "acceptability" of a date, and to the gains in prestige when group members date persons who are highly desirable. The various campus organizations differ considerably in their prestige value to a particular student. The criteria of what gives prestige are determined to some extent within the group and there is variation from one group to another. Dating, athletic prowess, leadership in campus organizations and scholastic achievement are prominent prestige giving values.

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[10] See reference to J. D. Ray in Robert Winch, *The Modern Family,* New York: Holt, 1952, pp. 489-493.
[11] *Ibid.*

WOMAN. The fraternity, while affecting the desirability of a man or woman as a date, also affects dating in other ways. Dating is emphasized as desirable and there is unspoken pressure on those who do not date. Encouragement is given to date in the "right group" since prestige is gained for the group by the desirability of the dates of the members. There is not always pressure to date sorority girls but rather the neat, sharp girl.

MAN. It adds to one's prestige if your date is a member of a high ranking organization or has a car. This includes the two independent organizations which have more prestige than some of the fraternities. These two qualifications will follow the name, when a person describes his or her date.

Hypothesis V. The peer group exerts controls over dating and courtship through its ability to influence either positively or negatively a person's reputation. Deviations from expected group norms may be cruelly punished in the reactions of a person's age mates. Other aspects of peer group control are the degree of tolerance of norm deviation permitted and the extent that all aspects of individual behavior come under group surveillance. There is an observed tendency for college students to adopt the dating and courtship patterns of their peers. They will frequently imitate the modes of acting of persons with high prestige.

Peer groups also influence dating and courtship through their role in the socialization process. This is seen in the exchange of ideas through group participation, in the evaluation of behavior and behavor patterns and in the exercise of group sanctions. Through its potential to extend and/or grant approval and acceptance, the peer group is in a real sense an agent enforcing the "codes" for dating and courtship as well as other codes.

WOMAN. Another common part of college life here is the frequent bull-session. This is usually held after hours in somebody's room. Anywhere from two to an unlimited number of girls (or guys) pile into a room to chat and gossip. Bull sessions are good to a limited extent, but when they ruin a person's reputation by falsehoods or slanderous gossip, they should be stopped.

MAN. A girl who does a lot of random dating has to beware because she must maintain emotional self control. Otherwise the only reason she will have a lot of dates will be that she is rather free with herself (with physical intimacies) on her dates.

In the latter case, she does lose respect on campus, as far as her reputation goes, even though she does have quite a few dates. Word can spread pretty fast and usually she will be refused admission to sororities on campus.

CONFLICTS IN SOCIAL NORMS

Social norms for the guidance and control of student behavior originate in varied ways and can be traced to college campus traditions, college administrative regulations, to the values of religious organizations and of course to the students' own peer groups. An important part of these normative definitions relate to dating and courtship and other social relations between single young men and women. Frequently there occurs conflicting or incompatible definitions of what is appropriate conduct. At any rate the lack of unity and integration of the rules for expected behavior must be taken into account in the study of dating and courtship patterns.

Hypothesis VI. When confronted with incompatible or conflicting definitions of appropriate dating and courtship behavior, students generally conform to peer group norms, rather than to other patterns. A knowledge of this conflict may help to account for the clashes which occur from time to time between student groups on the one hand, and representatives of government, church or college administration on the other hand.

WOMAN. Reverend Jones, who is the leader of a local religious organization was telling a group of students how deplorable he thought their dating habits were. The students were amazed at his statements. They saw nothing wrong with their dating habits. There's nothing wrong with petting as long as one doesn't go all the way, they told him.

MAN. Rules of conduct are more influenced at college by the group, than those at home. One may have strict convictions on how he or she will behave in a variety of situations. But most often these convictions are altered or are dropped when one is under the influence of the college environment. The students tend to act in groups (fraternal, athletic, social clubs, etc.) and as such they generally conform to the groups' accepted ways of behavior, i.e., drinking, smoking, dating, etcetera.

Hypothesis VII. There is an absence of clearly defined moral norms relative to man-woman relations in dating on the college campus and, correspondingly, there is a pronounced lack of student

conformity to such norms.[12] In a social situation in which the norms and goals for behavior are confused or conflicting, it is not uncommon to find persons rejecting most or all such definitions. This condition has been described by Williams as "cultural apathy with respect to standards of conduct." This applies especially to persons who feel "the pulls of competing and conflicting norms and who become demoralized, and who are unable to tie themselves to a consistent set of cultural norms and goals."[13] A similar point of view has been expressed by Cuber who states "It appears not improbable that a majority of currently dating men and women do not have any pronounced and clearly defined beliefs one way or another on most moral questions involved in man-woman relations.[14] For most students, entrance into college life ordinarily is accompanied by their breaking attachments with family and neighborhood friends. Often there is a considerable period before new attachments are developed. We can add to this the fact that in dating and courtship activities, students are more or less "on their own," i.e., an effective system of adult chaperonage or supervision does not exist.

> WOMAN. The freshmen girls tend to be very confused about the expected code of mores while away at school. (I have noted this more this year, as I am a counselor in the new dormitory.) Many of the girls become even more confused after breaking up with the fellow from home, since they are already dating a fellow on campus. What will she tell the fellow at home, and what should she do while on campus?

> MAN. The reason for the "modern code of morality" is because the students come from diverse cultural backgrounds, as the school is located in an industrial area. Because of the varied backgrounds of the stduents who are thrown together, there is a lack of a common definition of the situation.

Hypothesis VIII. A "conflict of interests" between the sexes persists in college dating and courtship. The writer's observations confirm those of Waller and Hill,[15] and Green[16] in this regard. While

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[12] The notion of moral indifference used here is descriptive only, and no value judgment is implied regarding the relative "goodness" or "badness" of such behavior patterns.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

[14] *Op. cit.*

[15] *Op. cit.*

[16] W. Arnold Green, "Why Americans Feel Insecure," *Commentary*, July, 1948, p. 23.

both men and women students have the requisite physical maturity for marriage, other factors operate to influence their readiness for wedlock. Owing to the needs of men to achieve some economic security first, males more often than females in courtship postpone marriage. The middle class values of "success" and the maintenance of a certain level of living may well be determinant factors in the decisions and problems of these young people. While the proportion of college and university students who are married has increased in recent years, they are generally a minority of all students. Rather than delay until her age mate companion is ready to get married, the young woman frequently cultivates the attentions of older men, in order to marry when she is most marriageable. This point is further developed in hypothesis IX.

> WOMAN. I think there is quite a bit of engagement outside of the age group on campus, since the fellow usually cannot afford marriage in the near future. Many girls are engaged to fellows who are already graduated, or who are from their home town.

> MAN. Boys seem to have great pressure from the primary group to finish college and cannot always meet the pressure of the girls. Most of the couples that I know are continually frustrated in trying to cope with the problem. It is not just a matter of finding the boy (or girl) you would like to marry. Economically, great force is put on the young couple, and an increase of financial status is a factor.

Hypothesis IX. Young women students tend to prefer male friends and companions who are one to three years older than themselves. Correspondingly, men students tend to show a preference for female partners who are one to three years younger. This may well follow from the fact that girls attain puberty, mental, social, and physical maturity at an earlier chronological age than boys. This earlier physical maturation of young women is recognized by society, so that they may legally marry at a younger age than men. In the early teens girls frequently demonstrate their more advanced social maturity by initiating mixed parties and by teaching boys to dance.

The age differences within couples is reflected in a variety of patterns, as for example the attitude of senior girls that a college graduate is the "ideal catch," or the popularity of summer school sessions for upperclass women because of the abundance of older students and graduate students then on campus. Correspondingly, we can observe a "rush" of the Freshmen girls by the upperclass men after each group of students is admitted to college.

WOMAN. The majority of girls that I know prefer to date boys who are at least one year older than they themselves. In this way there is a greater likelihood of being admitted to places of entertainment (night clubs and taverns). Membership in a fraternity, or being a sophomore or junior makes a boy more attractive to the Freshmen girls, as such boys are thought to be more mature. Due to her earlier maturity, compared to a boy, a girl just naturally gravitates toward the older boys.

SUMMARY

In this paper, it has been assumed that (1) dating and courtship patterns of college students are a part of a larger student culture complex, and as such are functional both as socialization and as a means of mate selection; (2) students' peer groups have a significant role in the development, implementation and modification of dating and courtship patterns. The latter are defined as the norms that regulate the relationships between two young people before marriage in which there is not necessarily a commitment other than one or more temporary contacts.

Against the background of the foregoing conceptual framework there are two sets of hypotheses developed. The first set deals with peer groups and (1) that they provide a sense of security for members who are attempting to establish pair-dating relationships; (2) the pressure they exert toward dating; (3) the prestige they confer upon members which may enhance their desirability as dates; (4) the social controls they exercise over dating and courtship.

The second set of hpyotheses deal with conflicts in the norms of dating and courtship and (1) the primacy of peer group norms over those arising from other sources; (2) the absence of clearly defined moral norms on the college campus; (3) the conflict of interests between the sexes; (4) the preference of young women students for male companions who are one to three years older than themselves.

Harold E. Smith is Associate Professor of Sociology at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois.

EDUCATIONAL CONFLICTS AND LEVELS OF CONCERN

Calvin B. Michael

One of the complications of the "great debate" on education—and it may well be characteristic of all such disputes—is that it is so easy to turn away from the issues to the personalities involved. Throughout the conduct of this contemporary dialogue on schooling has run a kind of arm chair analysis of the protagonists of each team. Each debater has had his motives inferred, his abilities assessed, and his feelings hurt. Once in a while even his sanity and ancestry have been questioned. Probably most of these analyses have taken place in the urban seminar, i.e., the cocktail party. However, a considerable amount has appeared in the various media of the free press.

Perhaps eyeryone now has read about the "pinks at Teachers College" and the "academic snobs of the universities." John Dewey has been called a "boondoggler" and Admiral Rickover has been accused of being too long underwater. We have been treated to books on the *Educational Wastelands* and *Quackery in the Public Schools* as well as to essays about the critics who volleyed and thundered. The lecture platform frequently has been the scene of statistical quarrels about how-many-took-how-much-of-what-when. And the columns of letters to editors have been soggy with nostalgic reminiscences of childhood atrocities and outrages against adolescents or have reeked with umbrage taken against the attacks on the self, the profession, the nation, or what-have-you. The entire affair has been treated variously as an issue, a crusade, a crisis, a debate, a past time, *ad infinitum, ad nauseam.* A large portion of the population has agreed that "corrupt" is the proper descriptive term—for either the educationists or the critics. "You pays your money; you takes your choice."

We could call this the psychoanalytic level for viewing the affair. Of course, there are other levels, and one of these might simply be termed the analytic. It has been typified by those who have—they say—remained aloof from the disputes and have turned the cold, illuminating eye of reason to the arguments of the limelighters. Sometimes this approach has been more at the sublime level than the analytic for we have been urged to remain calm in the knowledge that such conflicts are healthy. We have been told that these controversies promise nothing but good, because out of them will emerge the best of all things. When such observations are questioned, they are then supplemented by airy assurances that the analyst means "in the long run of events." When that is to be is rather difficult for

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him to specify. How it will come about is a purely technical problem which does not trouble those who are of this mystical bent.

Now the disturbing element in such a view of things is that it overlooks the importance of questions about whether the conflicts needed to arise, how they arose, and if, in arising, there is an acceptable means proposed for their resolution. Certainly the manner of dealing with a conflict is a significant element in its elimination. Certainly the ground rules for conducting a debate can help shape its outcomes. Certainly the qualities of a measure intrinsically limit what can be gauged with it. Certainly the assumptions in an argument forbid some conclusions. And certainly the validity of a premise is a relevant matter though the laws of syllogistic reasoning operate independently of this determination. All these are aspects integral to the conflicts. To forego their implications and to suggest that conflict *per se* is good seems a most naive judgment.

But all of this affair has not been conflict. The analysts and the debaters have surely joined hands around the Maypole of education's contemporary significance. It used to be said that education was a good thing; we need more of it. Now, everyone seems agreed that it's a vital thing; we have to have more of it. But once again, the agreement—as with the conflicts—requires not mere acceptance but examination if we are to transcend the Pollyanna level.

The reasons that lead to the suggestion of education's significance can be importantly different. For example, in a speech before the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in 1959, Professor Harold Hand identified the meaning of using the threat of Soviet scientific achievement as the bases for attributing importance to education in the U. S.[1] Henry Wriston, President-Emeritus of Brown University and Chairman of the President's Commission on National Goals, has reached conclusions about education's significance similar to those persons cited by Hand. But his reasons, indicated in a chapter of the Commission's recent report,[2] derive from his concern for the development of each unique individual. Other reasons for ascribing this crucial role to education could be indicated, but the principal point is to recognize that calling the conduct of our schools a vital national concern is a conclusion. The premises which led to

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[1] Harold C. Hand. *On Ways of Preventing Regression to the "Status Quo" Ante.* Address at the annual luncheon of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, March 5, 1959, Netherland Hilton Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[2] Henry M. Wriston. *The Individual,* Chapter II in Goals for Americans. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1960.

it in a variety of instances are important both to an understanding
of the conclusion as well as an acceptance of the implications for action
derived from the conclusion *and* the premises. We need to know if
the marching song for schools is intended to be a survival hymn, a
requiem Mass, or a tender ballad.

In other words, we are confronted with proposals and panaceas,
with criticisms and assurances, with conflicts and agreements. We are
confronted most, however, with an urgent necessity of knowing how
to deal with all of these. We need a method of practical judgment
because the conduct of education is a deliberate enterprise. In fact
it is from this latter awareness that we derive some cues for at-
tending to the provision of schooling for our children and youth.
John L. Childs put it this way: "Adults engage in deliberate educa-
tion because they are concerned to direct the processes by which their
children mature and learn to become participating members of their
society. A manifestation of preference for certain patterns of living
as opposed to others is therefore inherent in every program of delib-
erate education."[3]

All too often our awareness ends here with the recognition that
there are alternatives from which choices must be made. On occa-
sion we have gone one step further and have categorized the choices
—the decisions—to be exercised. Typically, with the penchant for two-
valued thinking, decisions have been dichotomized. One of the hoar-
iest conversations among teachers involves putting questions into
those of the "what to teach" type and those of the "how to teach"
type.

Classically, educational decisions have been viewed as concerned
with either the "ends" or the "means" of schooling. The "what to
teach" items and the "how to teach" items usually are considered
the equivalents of these, though this abysmal confusion about the cur-
riculum and subject matter being "ends" is occasionally and happily
not present. Worthwhile as this "dividing-up" activity has been, it
is unfortunate that there has been seldom an accompanying percep-
tion of the injunctions on deciding that emerge from the essence of
the decisions. This is to say that the nature of the decision itself
dictates, in some measure large or small, what is required to make that
decision. It is equally unfortunate that usual considerations of "means"
have not fully reflected what this entails relative to any objective.

The significance of this latter point may be seen in illustrations.
When we look at a particular practice of a school to assess how well

[3] John L. Childs. *Education and Morals*. New York: Appleton-Century-
Crofts, Incorporated, 1950. pp. 6-7.

that practice has contributed to the achievement of a desired end, the evaluation will have validity only if all the relevant conditions are considered. (What appears in this statement to be perfectly apparent has not been demonstrated to be so in practice.) If it is a particular textbook that is being evaluated, the use given to it is as wholly significant as its intrinsic features. If a sequence of study is being assessed, it is necessary to know about the materials employed, about the conditions of the persons who taught and were taught. The complexity of the factors which can be influential is great, but it is nonetheless incumbent upon the evaluator to account for them.

In the contemporary evaluations of educational activity, it seems readily apparent that the evaluators have been particularly guilty of ignoring all the relevant conditions in favor of a preferred or accidentally discovered "means." Largely these evaluations have been of the *post hoc, propter hoc* kind and have been coupled with a narrow perception of the situation. For example, blithe assumptions have been made about the efficacy of certain school practices or curricula, or organizational patterns while at the same time we have ignored— or merely lamented—the teacher shortage. Its possible impact has not even been estimated. There has been no attempt to determine how relevant a condition in teachers' *later* conduct is the low regard held for them as prospective teachers by many of their colleagues and their professors. There has been scant effort to measure how much of the schools' results have been influenced by the abysmal working conditions of many teachers. A shortage of instructional materials for individualized instruction is seldom more than a passing observation in the evaluation of a school program. It generally appears in fact, on the last page of such reports under the heading: "Suggested Improvements."

However, the most common error in the evaluation of school practices has been to assess the means employed to seek prior ends *not* in relation to those ends but in relation to ones newly posed. This is the error frequently demonstrated in the whipping of the schools for using X procedures to accomplish Y ends because they didn't result in Z ends. Yet if any substantive information is to be obtained about the worth of materials and methods and relationships, it is gotten from their assessment relative to the objectives toward which they were employed. This does not mean no new objectives are possible. It emphasizes only that the evaluation of means is separate from the evaluation of ends.

But now to return to an earlier point about the requisites for decision-making and the necessity of a method of practical judgment.

Movement partway toward a solution of this problem comes from the recognition that all decisions in education are not intrinsically alike, nor is their extrinsic appearance always a reliable indication of their essential quality. Note several common types: What are the objectives of M school? How is reading being taught in N school? In what grade should biology be taught? 'What are the real aims of education?

Superficially, it might be said the first and fourth type are concerned with ends while the others concern means. But more importantly the questions differ in whether they ask what ought to be or what is. Thus, the question about the instruction in reading in N school requires a factual statement. Equally, it is a factual description of the objectives of M school that is called for in the question cited. In the case of the other two questions, the answers will be couched in terms of what ought to be. Knowing the nature of the questions obviously indicates in a general way what will suffice for an answer. Value judgments or opinions will not be adequate for describing how reading is taught or the objectives of M school because neither of these constitutes a way of determining facts.

Turning to the questions about what ought to be, there is an inclination to say that here is the realm of values even though one concerns the means—the grade placement of biology—and the other the ends—the real aims of education. At least this is the inclination if examination of the questions stops here. The answer to the question of whether values will provide an adequate resolution of these problems is that it depends. It depends on the extension of the statement about what ought to be as a result of recognizing it as an uncompleted prediction.

Thus, when it is said that the aims of education ought to be whatever, or that biology ought to be taught in the whenever grade, both statements are of the form: P ought to be *because Q will follow*. Typically, of course, the prediction is not stated and thus not recognized as *necessarily* implied. The predictive quality of "ought" statements is more commonly encountered in response to the why? which such statements evoke. Thus, "French ought to be taught to elementary school pupils." "Why?" The answers to the "why?" constitute the predictive completion of the original statement.[4]

Additionally, the recognition of this predictive quality must be accompanied by an awareness that the prediction will have a particu-

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[4] For an extensive discussion bearing on this point see: C. L. Stevenson. *The Scientist's Role and the Aims of Education.* Harvard Educational Review, XXIV, No. 4 (1954), 231-38.

lar form. That is, it will either be capable of verification or it will not be. For example, someone says that two hours per elementary school day ought to be devoted to the teaching of reading. A reason offered —in response to a why?—is that twice as much will be learned as if only one hour per day were so used. That prediction is capable of verification. If, on the other hand, the reason offered is that two hours of study will enrich the soul, there is no capacity for verification in that prediction. If the reason offered is that to do such a thing is a noble undertaking, there is equally no verification possible pending a decision about the meaning of nobility.

Thus it is that proposals about the ends of education and the means for seeking these ends are properly viewed as predictions. Upon examination—or from the philosophical level for viewing educational conflicts—such proposals will reveal characteristics that indicate they may or may not be verified. Of course, in many instances, such validations have already occurred and the proposals can then be viewed as reasonable or unreasonable hypotheses. In any event, it is only when the outlines of objectives and the plans for procedures are stated so that they are capable of being tested that there exists an adequate basis for the evaluation and reconstruction of education.

Calvin B. Michael is Assistant Professor of Education, University of California, Berkeley, California.

SOCIOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF STUDENT LEADERSHIP IN HAWAII

Otomar J. Bartos and Richard A. Kalish

As the various ethnic groups have immigrated to the United States and have eventually become absorbed into the general population, behaviorial changes from generation to generation have been noted. In Hawaii the process of assimilation has been discussed by numerous writers.[1] The present authors took advantage of a survey of attitudes towards campus activities at the University of Hawaii[2] to investigate the relationship of sociological and psychological variables to student participation and leadership. In particular this paper is concerned with the relationship of leadership at the University of Hawaii to variation in sex, religion, and race.[3]

A sample of 150 sophomores, juniors, and seniors in full time attendance at the University of Hawaii provided the survey group, being chosen from a universe of approximately 3,000. Of the 150 students initially chosen through use of a table of random numbers, 147 were eventually surveyed regarding attitudes, information, biographical data, and participation and leadership in activties.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS

Racial Characteristics

The data discussed in this paper were obtained in response to direct questions regarding leadership in campus activities. Any such leadership experience was sufficient to identify a student as a leader. Other variables pertinent to this paper included racial characteristics, religion, and sex. Previous studies have shown that the group enjoying the highest prestige in the community has the greatest share of the leadership in that community.[4] This conclusion, however, is not very useful for present purposes because it is not clear which racial group enjoys the highest prestige on the University of Hawaii campus.

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[1] References include: Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii.* New York: Macmillan, 1937; Bernhard Hormann, "'Racial' Statistics in Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii,* 12, 1948, 29; Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955; W. Edgar Vinacke, "Religious Attitudes of Students at the University of Hawaii, *"Journal of Social Psychology,* 28, 1949, 161-179.

[2] Bartos, Otomar J. and Richard A. Kalish. *Student Leadership at the University of Hawaii,* 1959, mimeographed, 158p. A further report is to be published by the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* shortly.

[3] The term "race" used here is intended to have the meaning given it by the United States Bureau of Census.

[4] Hollingshead, A. B., *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley, 1949

One may argue that the parents of the Caucasian students tend to come from higher social strata than do students of other racial backgrounds. However, the Caucasians constitute only 12% of the student body—thus it might be argued that such a small minority would not be able to impose its values on the rest of the student body. Similar difficulties present themselves when considering the other racial groups.

Observation of data presented in Table 1 suggest that the Caucasians definitely are not over-represented in the leadership structure of the campus. Of the four racial groupings included, Caucasians (who may have the highest social status) and Japanese (who are numerically dominant) provide the lowest relative proportion of leaders. It is the Chinese and the members of numerically small ethnic groups[5] who seem to be over-represented as leaders. Chi squares for 2 x 2 tables were computed contrasting each racial group with the remainder of the population. The "other" group contributed significantly beyond chance to leadership (x^2=5.33, $p<.05$); the Japanese approached a significant under-representation (x^2=3.45, $p<.10$.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Campus Leadership By Sex and Race

Race	Women	Men	Total
Japanese	49%*	17%	32% (88)**
Chinese	82%	25%	52% (23)
Caucasian	29%	27%	28% (18)
Others	48%	80%	65% (17)
Total	54% (71)	24% (75)	38% (146)

* The percentage in the box indicates the percentage of that category with leadership experience, e.g. 49% of the Japanese women have been leaders.

** The number in parentheses is the total number of cases in each racial group.

Sex Characteristics

Many of the norms and values of a student can undoubtedly be traced to the fact that at birth he entered one of the two big categories of our culture, i.e. males or females. Studies and opinions of contemporary American voluntary associations suggest that, on the whole, men are more likely to be leaders than women. In addition,

[5] The "other" category consists of Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians (4), Filipinos (1), Koreans (5), Oriental-Caucasian (2), and Cosmopolitan (three or more different ethnic backgrounds) (5).

the traditional role of the male in Asia assumes a higher level of dominance than the American male.

Table 1 indicates that, although a difference between men and women at the University of Hawaii exists, it is in the *opposite direction* from that theoretically hypothesized: the proportion of women leaders is better than twice that of male leaders, and the chi square test $(x^2 = 13.03)$ establishes the significance beyond the .01 level of confidence.

Religious Characteristics

There is enough religious differentiation on the University of Hawaii campus to expect that church identification may play an important role in leadership. Although the majority of students are of Protestant faith, there are substantial numbers of Catholics and Buddhists on campus. However, as the result of the unique history of Hawaii, the Catholics are found predominantly among the Chinese and Caucasian groups (and Filipino) while the Protestants find their greatest support among the Japanese and Caucasian. The general social class level of Chinese is above that of the Japanese;[6] thus the social class level of Catholics, in all likelihood, is higher than usually found in large, secular, mainland colleges.

As indicated in Table 2, students without religious affiliation and those of the Buddhist faith are under-represented. On the other hand, Catholic students are well over-represented, and Protestants, although numerically in the majority, receive just their statistically expected share of leadership posts. Chi square was computed for 2 x 2 tables contrasting each religious group with the remainder of the population. Catholics were significantly over-represented $(x^2 = 6.12, p<.02)$ and Buddhists were significantly under-represented $(x^2 = 4.81, p<.05)$.

TABLE 2

Distribution of Campus Leadership by Sex and Religion

Religion	Women	Men	Total
Protestant	52%	25%	40% (85)
Catholic	67%	53%	59% (29)
Buddhist	43%	0%	16% (19)
No preference	50%	0%	17% (12)
Total	54% (71)	24% (74)	38% (145)

[6] Lind, Andrew W. "Mounting the Occupational Ladder in Hawaii," Honolulu: *Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory Report No.* 24, 1957.

Other Characteristics

Characteristics other than the three cited above were investigated with the following results. No significant relationships with leadership were found for social class, urban versus rural upbringing, public versus private high school attendance, college attended at the University, and year at the University. Significant relationships beyond the .05 level did occur as the result of a. age (students 22 years and older were *less* frequently leaders) ; b. interest, as measured by the frequency with which the campus newspaper was read; c. information concerning campus activities, measured by a multiple choice achievement test.

INTERRELATIONSHIPS

Although the differences between leaders and non-leaders on the basis of race, religion and sex have been presented, the possibility of interactions between two or all three of these variables have not been discussed so far. This section will consider some such interactions. Because of the small number of cases involved, no tests of statistical significance will be given. Hence the analysis will have to be confined to the sample itself, making generalizations to the entire universe tentative.

Sex

Of the three variables, sex most clearly differentiates leaders from non-leaders. Thus the following working hypothesis will be tested: a woman at the University of Hawaii has better chances of becoming a leader than does a man with similar characteristics. If this hypothesis is true, then women should out-rate men as leaders, even when the men are of the same race and religion. However, Tables 1 and 2 show that in two instances women may not be more likely to become leaders than men, i.e. among the Caucasians and among the "other" category. In the latter category, women seem actually less likely to become leaders than men. These two possible exceptions should not prevent one from seeing that in all the remaining comparisons women do out-rate men as leaders, in several instances by high proportions. These findings may be interpreted as showing that racial groups differ in what role they expect their women to play. However, the findings appear to contradict what is commonly assumed. On the one hand, Japanese and Chinese women are said to be submissive and accept the authority of the man, while many contemporary writers claim that an American (Caucasian) man is dominated by women. On the other hand, the data show that at the University of Hawaii, the Japanese women and the Chinese women are more likely to be-

come leaders than the men of those groups, while the Caucasian wo-
men are shown to be approximately equally likely to become leaders
as their male counterparts.

Race

In referring back to Table 1, four observations regarding race can
be made: first, that Japanese students are under-represented as
leaders; second that Chinese students are over-represented; third,
that Caucasians are under-represented; and fourth that "others" are
over-represented. That a more detailed analysis would reveal incon-
sistencies was anticipated, and such an analysis was made. In particu-
lar, the following exceptions can be noted: among the *men,* the Chi-
nese are not over-represented and the Caucasians are not under-
represented (Table 1); among the Catholics, the Japanese are not
under-represented and the Chinese are not over-represented (Table
3). One fact should be noted when observing the exceptions to the
general trend, i.e. the hypothesis that belonging to "other" racial
groups is related to leadership is not contradicted.

TABLE 3
Distribution of Campus Leadership by Race and Religion

Religion	Japanese	Chinese	Caucasian	Other	Total
Protestant	35%	55%	37%	55%	40% (85)
Catholic	86%	5C%	25%	100%	61% (28)
Buddhist	11%	0%	0%	100%	16% (19)
No preference	12%	100%	0%	0%	17% (12)
Total	32% (88)	57% (21)	28% (18)	65% (17)	39% (144)*

* Because of lack of complete information on three cases, the N is reduced
for some tables.

Religion

Three main working hypotheses may be stated about the role of
religion on campus: Catholics are over-represented; Buddhists are
under-represented; and students without religious preference are
under-represented (Table 2). The question arises as to whether
these hypotheses hold true even if sex and race are controlled. Only
in two instances are the hypotheses contradicted; among the *Chinese*
and among the *Caucasians* the Catholics are not clearly over-repre-
sented as leaders (Table 3).

Summary Remarks

A simple method was used to arrange the data already discussed
in such a fashion that main conclusions were indicated by the data

TABLE 4

Sex, Race, and Religion Combinations Ranked According to Leadership Probabilities

Rank	Combinations		
1	Japanese	Woman	Catholic
2	Other		Catholic
3	Chinese	Woman	Protestant
4	Japanese		Catholic
5	Chinese	Woman	
6	Other	Man	
7		Woman	Catholic
9.5	Caucasian	Woman	Protestant
9.5	Other	Man	Protestant
9.5	Japanese	Man	Catholic
9.5	Chinese	Woman	Catholic
12	Other	Woman	
13	Chinese		Catholic
14.5	Chinese		Protestant
14.5	Other		Protestant
16		Man	Catholic
17		Woman	Protestant
18	Other	Woman	Protestant
19	Chinese	Man	Catholic
20	Japanese	Woman	
21	Japanese	Woman	Protestant
22		Woman	Buddhist
23	Caucasian	Man	Catholic
24	————ALL STUDENTS————		
25	Caucasian		Protestant
26	Japanese		Protestant
27	Japanese	Woman	Buddhist
28	Caucasian	Woman	
29	Caucasian	Man	
30	Chinese	Man	
31	Caucasian		Catholic
32		Man	Protestant
33	Japanese	Man	Protestant
34	Caucasian	Man	Protestant
35	Japanese	Man	
36	Japanese		No preference
37	Japanese		Buddhist
38.5	Japanese	Man	Buddhist
38.5		Man	Buddhist
40		Man	No preference
41	Japanese	Man	No preference
42	Chinese	Man	Protestant
43	Caucasian	Woman	Catholic

themselves. The combination with the highest leadership probability appeared at the top of the table and the combination with the lowest leadership probability appeared at the bottom. For purposes of comparison, both two-valued combinations (e.g. Chinese women) and three valued combinations (e.g. Catholic Caucasian men) were included in the ranking. Table 4 presents these data.

Previously it was shown that being a woman related to being a leader for the Japanese and the Chinese, but not for Caucasians or "others." The leadership probability ranking showed that not only are women over-represented among the Chinese, but *Chinese women* as a group are more likely to become leaders than any other two-valued combination of race and sex, and they are over-represented even when religion is controlled.

On the other hand, although Japanese women are not over-represented in the same sense, the *Japanese men* are under-represented in a similar sense; they rank lower than Japanese women (men: 35th, women: 20th, out of 43 ranks), and they rank lower than Chinese men (30th). The only exception to the low rank of the Japanese men are the Catholic Japanese men who rank very high (9.5th). Thus *non-Catholic Japanese men* appear under-represented as leaders. Further analysis shows that "others" are consistently over-represented, even when sex and religion are both controlled.

Being a *Buddhist* or being without religious preference has been shown to be associated with low leadership probabilities, even when sex or race are accounted for individually. When sex and race are accounted for simultaneously, among the Japanese, the Buddhists and the students without religious preferences are under-represented, whether one compares Japanese men with these preferences to Japanese men of other religions, or Japanese women with these religious preferences to Japanese women of other religions.

Catholics were found over-represented among "others" and Japanese. Although the number of "others" is too small (only 4) to consider seriously the data are as expected—all four Catholics of "other" races are leaders. As far as the Japanese Catholics are concerned, their high leadership probabilities are not affected by sex; Japanese Catholic women rank higher than their next "competitor," Chinese Catholic women, and Japanese Catholic men rank higher than do the next highest male Catholic group, Chinese Catholic men.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A survey of student leadership was conducted at the University of Hawaii. Variables of sex, race, and religion were related to lead-

ership in a random sample of 147 students. The following conclusions were tentatively obtained (based on Table 4) :

1. The student who is a non-Catholic Japanese man is likely to be a non-leader.
2. The student who is a Buddhist or is without religious preference is likely to be a non-leader.
3. The student who belongs to "other" races is likely to be a leader.
4. The student who is a Chinese woman is likely to be a leader.
5. The student who is a Japanese Catholic is likely to be a leader.
6. The student who is a Catholic belonging to "other" race is likely to be a leader.
7. Among the men, the student who is Catholic is more likely to be a leader than is a non-Catholic.

Although there will be some variation from year to year in the ethnic, religious, and sex identifications of University of Hawaii student leaders, these data are consistent with the personal observations of the authors and many others involved with student activities.

Otomar J. Bartos is Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Hawaii.

Richard A. Kalish is Assistant Professor of Psychology at Los Angeles State College.

AN EVALUATION OF THE DAVIS-EELLS (CULTURE-FAIR) TEST USING SPANISH AND ANGLO-AMERICAN CHILDREN

John E. Stablein, Darrell S. Willey, and Calvin W. Thomson

The Davis Eells Test of General Intelligence or Problem Solving Ability represents an attempt to produce a culture-fair test of intelligence. The authors, Davis et.al., (4) have presented evidence suggesting that most of the group tests of intelligence "discriminate" against the lower social-status child. The Davis Eells Test (DET, according to the manual, (3) is purported to remedy this by using items which are nonverbal problems common to the experiences of all children regardless of social or cultural background. It thus, theoretically, provides a means of measuring capacity for intelligent action by partialing out discriminatory cultural contamination.

The present study was designed to evaluate the culture-fairness of the DET. This was done by comparing the performances of two groups of culturally different elementary school children of the DET with their performances on three other measures-academic achievement (Metropolitan Achievement Test Battery) (MATB), a group test of intelligence (Primary Mental Abilities Test) (PMA), and a vocabulary test (described in the method section). In addition, a modifiied form of the Sims Socio-economic Score Card was used to obtain a fairly objective estimate of each child's socio-economic level. It seems reasonable to assume that the two culturally* different groups of children should perform equally well on the DET *if* it is truly a culture-fair test and there are no basic hereditary differences present.

METHOD

Subjects: Eighty-three Anglo-American* children with a mean chronological age of 9.4 years and one hundred and twenty-seven Spanish-American children with a mean chronological age of 10.2 years constituted the populations for whom the data were collected. These subjects were enrolled in grades two through five in a "typical" southern New Mexico public school with approximately an equal number of subjects in each grade. All the subjects came from the same school and constituted, where possible, whole classes containing both Anglo and Spanish children. The difference in chronological ages of the two groups was due to a statewide New Mexico educational practice wherein semi-English speaking children are given one

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* Culture and social status are used interchangeably. No attempt was made to provide a precise definition. The terms provide convenient reference to possible differences in background experiences.

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year of "pre-first" training before enrolling in regular first grade work.

Procedure: The DET, the vocabulary test (VOC) and modified Sims Score Card (SI) were administered during Fall term. Intelligence quotients from the Science Research Associates Primary Mental Abilities Test (PMA) and achievement ratios from the Metropolitan Achievement Test Battery (MATB) were taken from the cumulative record files, both tests having been administered as a part of the school's regular testing program the previous Spring term. The vocabulary test (VOC) contained 50 words selected for each grade level according to three Thorndike, (7) Gates, (5) and Dolch (2) word frequency lists. The words selected for inclusion were those having the highest frequency usage-rating by agreement of the three lists and the adopted basic Reader. The VOC Test was administred orally subsequent to the SI interview. The items were judged either right or wrong according to predetermined criteria. The modified Sims Score Card was designed to give a more detailed rating at the very low socio-economic levels common in this area. Because of absences at the times of test administrations, the N's are given for each testing situation as presented in the Tables. It was reasonable to assume, however, that no specific selective factor was operating in this process.

RESULTS

Table 1 summarizes the comparisons of the mean scores obtained for the two groups on the five measures. The mean scores for the two groups differ on all five variables, each significant beyond the .01 level of confidence. The distributions of scores were reasonably nor-

TABLE 1
Comparison of Means for the Two Groups on the Five Measures

	Anglo-American			Spanish American			
	N	M	—	N	M	—	*t*
DET	83	104.1	12.9	127	85.6	13.3	10.0
PMA	63	111.5	11.1	104	89.8	12.5	12.2
MAT	57	126.4	21.0	102	108.9	27.1	4.2
VOC	83	46.0	3.5	127	34.4	9.2	11.4
SI	83	38.8	3.9	127	25.5	6.7	5.2

mal for both groups on all measures except the vocabulary test—these were highly skewed due to the nature of the test which was based on words common to each respective grade level.

It is apparent in Table 1 that the Spanish group is as different from the Anglo on the DET, as it is on the tests reputed to be heavily loaded with cultural items.

Table 2 shows the correlations among the five variables each of the groups. The differences between r's were tested for significance and with the exception of two, the DET/PMA and PMA/VOC failed to meet the .05 level of confidence. The explanation for the significant differences in each of these cases can be interpreted in light of the language factor involved. The degree of English Language mastery of the "bilingual" group proportionately effects the levels of attainment made on the PMA and DET much more so than it does for Anglo group. The range of scores on the tests was greater for the Spanish group in each case. Thus, even though the mean level of performance differs for the two groups, the measures used interrelate equally with each other. This could indicate a non-significant difference between the groups in the relative weighting of factors influencing performances on the measures used.

A crossectional sample of four school grades was used in the study, it is of interest to note any age-grade changed in performance.

TABLE 2
Correlations Among the Five Variables

	Anglo American		Spanish American		t
DET MAT	N = 57	r = .28	N = 102	r = .31	0.2
DET PMA	N = 63	r = .43	N = 114	r = .65	2.9
DET VOC	N = 83	r = .25	N = 127	r = .46	1.7
DET SI	N = 83	r = .11	N = 127	r = .30	1.4
PMA MAT	N = 53	r = .56	N = 98	r = .68	1.1
PMA VOC	N = 63	r = .26	N = 98	r = .68	3.4
PMA SI	N = 63	r = .34	N = 114	r = .27	0.5
MAT VOC	N = 57	r = .28	N = 102	r = .38	0.7
MAT SI	N = 57	r = .26	N = 102	r = .33	0.5
VOC SI	N = 83	r = .23	N = 127	r = .35	0.9

For purposes of comparison, only the DET and PMA IQ's are used. This comparison appears in Table 3. There was no apparent age change on either the PMA or the DET. Other studies, using a longitudinal approach over more grades have found a gradual and significant deterioration in measured intellectual functioning of lower class Spanish Americans. (8)

DISCUSSION

The DET failed to give a measure with less difference between the groups than other purportedly culturally loaded, measures of intelligence and achievement. The DET thus failed to provide a performance measure less influenced by cultural experience factors than other commonly used tests. Similar findings for the DET were reported by Rosenblum et.al. (6) on a study using lower class retarded children.

There are a number of factors involved which could have influenced these results. Firstly, it may be argued that the two groups are actually different in the abilities tapped by all of these measures apart from any influence cultural differences and opportunities might have. Or, the reverse of this argument might be made that cultural or experiential factors affect performance on the DET as much as they do on the PMA, MAT or the vocabulary tests. The former statement canot be directly tested since the only evidence we have of ability differences is actual test performance. The latter supposition seems to be supported by the data of this study, if one assumes the two groups represent random samples from common ethnic populations.

Secondly, the two groups of children, though developing in the same community, school, and physical environment, may differ in terms of more fundamental cultural factors. Not only were the Spanish-American children bilingual* and from a lower socioeconomic level but they belonged to a group strongly ethnic in character and containing a degree of Mexican National culture. It is possible that we have the extremes of social and cultural divergence in these groups making the amount of common cultural content overlap minimal. There exists in the testing area a practice of tempered dual ethnocracy. The Anglo-Americans and Spanish-Americans, as groups, are very markedly apart socially and culturally. This sociocultural breech may well be the basic explanation for the test differentials found in this study. If this assumption is correct, it seems evident that the

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* bilingual—ability to speak and interpret English and Spanish, however the ability is direly impoverished in both languages.

TABLE 3

Comparison of Four Grades

Grades		Anglo American		Spanish American	
		DET	PMA	DET	PMA
	M	96.8	111.3	84.5	94.1
2		11.4	10.8	12.4	12.0
	N	20	17	37	36
	M	110.7	113.9	87.5	91.5
3		9.9	10.4	14.7	11.1
	N	23	18	23	21
	M	100.9	109.9	83.11	82.5
4		13.16	10.4	13.8	11.5
	N	20	16.	28	27
	M	107.20	106.8	88.2	88.7
5		12.6	12.7	12.4	11.3
	N	20	12	39	30
	M	104.1	110.90	85.6	89.8
Total		12.9	11.1	13.3	12.5
	N	83	63	127	104

socio-economic and academic poverty of the Spanish Americans, as a group, will remain until such a time that acculturization takes place, since the schools and tests are highly weighted in favor of the Anglo subculture. This would tend to reduce the capacity of the DET to provide a relatively non-discriminatory measure of ability.

Thirdly, test motivation and test sophistication could have influenced the results: As to motivation during testing, observation revealed no consistent differences between the children. The children had similar testing backgrounds and thus probably developed similar test skills, habits and attitudes.

A fourth factor is the semi-English speaking ability and understanding of the Spanish-American group. Anastasi and Cardova (1) found Spanish-English bilingualism to have no effect on intelligence test performance in an experimental study with Spanish speaking Puerto-Rican children. Except for the instructions, the DET is non-verbal. Special care was taken in the administration to be certain that the subtest problems were understood before the test began. No special check was made to determine whether the two groups differed in their understanding of what was wanted on each problem, as this would tend to invalidate the "problem solving abilty" measured by the test.

The purpose of the present study was to test the ability of the DET to measure "ability for intelligent action" of socially and culturally diverse groups of children-ability not tapped by other common performance measures. The present investigation indicates the DET's inability to provide such a measure. The solution to the perplexing problem of cultural and social class relativism as it relates to intelligence measurements may be found in research designed to provide specific prediction indices for specific human achievements.

SUMMARY

An evaluation of the culture-fairness of the DET was made by comparing the performance on the DET of two groups of culturally different elementary school children (127 Spanish-American, average age 10.2 and 83 Anglo-American, average age 9.4) with performances on the Primary Mental Abilities Test, the Metropolitan Achievement Test Battery, and a fifty word vocabulary test. The results indicated that the DET was as discriminatory between the groups as the other measures. It was concluded that, for these samples of subjects, the DET failed to be less influenced by cultural differences than other common measures of intelligence and achievement.

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John E. Stabelin is Director of Pupil Personnel and Guidance, Las Cruces Public Schools, Las Cruces, N. M.

Darren S. Willey is Associate Professor of Psychology, N. Mex. State University, University Park, N. M.

Calvin W. Thomson is Associate Professor of Psychology and Statistics at San Jose College, San Jose, Cal.

APPLICATION OF COMMUNICATION ANALYSIS TO STUDYING STAFF UTILIZATION

Fred Guggenheim

An initial attempt, on an exploratory basis, was made to study the variety of patterns of staff utilization that existed in a sample of 16 school districts of a constant, specified size in New York State. While there have been scores of studies in the area of staff utilization within the last ten years, the bulk of them have been restricted to job analysis and descriptions of different methods of teaching. When one seeks research related to the total functioning of the school as an organized unit the lack of data becomes strikingly apparent. The concept of an institution as an organized and integrated unit with common goals has long been an assumption in industry. The organization of a school district or even a school building is founded on a more tenuous basis. In the school situation each worker can operate independent of the rest of the staff. The teacher in the historical one-room schoolhouse is a clear example of this situation.

Do we really know how advantageous the advantages of large schools are? We assume they are superior to small schools not only on the basis of economics but because large schools supposedly permit more efficient staff utilization. The large school also supposedly permits the adjunct and integration of special service personnel. However, in many cases they are an adjunct rather than an integral part of a school, and the major responsibility for their effective use lies with the school's administrators. How well they are utilized is the question asked in this study.

The appraisal of staff utilization took the form of an identification and evaluation of the communication patterns that were present in various schools for making referrals on deviant pupils. The rationale for this approach is based on the assumption that when the nature of a problem is such that its effective resolution depends upon its being treated by several individuals then it is necessary to have an effective flow of information among the members.

Communication serves several purposes. It enables the members of an organization to understand its purposes and clarify its goals. It also permits the members of the organization to operate in a coordinated manner to achieve common goals. Campbell and Gregg describe communication as, "the process by which directions, information, ideas, explanations, and questions are transmitted from person to person or from group to group."[1] Communication is also the

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[1] Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg, *Administrative Behavior in Education,* Harper and Brothers, New York, 1957, p. 295.

vehicle by which interaction among members in the solution of problems takes place.

The structure of any communication system consists of several components. First, there is the *communicator* who has some *purpose* in sending a *message* to a *communicatee*. In order for this to be accomplished there must exist some *channel* or means for transmitting the message. The channels can be constructed in a formal or informal pattern. The formal channels are those which are set up consciously and exist through legal sanction. The informal channels are geared to the more personal goals of individuals and are based upon the interpersonal relations of the staff. They may or may not have legal sanction. A final requisite of a communication system is that it must provide for a *response* of some kind on the part of the communicatee.

For this study, the analysis of communications has been limited to an identification of the kind and quality of the established referral systems that were found among the sample schools. The individuals interviewed in this research include all of the school personnel who in some way were directly linked to the existing referral system through which the case studied was channelled.

It is a basic maxim in education that the school buildings and school personnel exist for the purpose of promoting the education of children. The creation and continuance of pupil personnel services also serve this purpose. Perhaps even more so than teachers, the pupil personnel services in their operation are concerned with the individual child. This can be clearly seen in a statement issued by the Pupil Personnel Services Division of the New York State Education Department.

> "We seek for each child the realization of his proposed potentialities for adjustment and growth through education . . . Properly thus to plan for the optimum development of each child there are certain areas of information or knowledge about him as an individual . . . that we must have."[2]

In describing pupil personnel services in the schools Francis J. Daly states that their two basic concerns are:

> "(a) that educational growth cannot be considered apart from rather than a part of the child's total well-being, adjustment and growth in the school setting; and
> (b) that the degree of overlapping and interrelationships of needs

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[2] "Tentative Draft for Framework Statement on Pupil Personnel Service," (Division of Pupil Personnel Services, New York State Department of Education). p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

and potentialities in any individual child demands a corresponding intermeshing or coordination of the school services designed to appraise or meet those needs, if these services are to be truly effective to the child and the school."[3]

Daly[4] continues to say that all of the school personnel are interdependent for the fullest expression of their efficiency. The quality of interdependence is reflected in the school's communication system. Where there is vertical and horizontal fluidity of communication it can be inferred that the opportunity exists for coordinated activities to be carried out efficiently.

Communication was studied by analyzing the patterns that existed in handling pupil problems within schools. It was assumed that in cases where teachers needed help outside of the classroom in solving problems effective utilization of the pupil personnel services was contingent upon the communication system that existed within the school. This phase of the study is not concerned with the availability of special service personnel nor communications as such but, rather, how are the available staff members reached and utilized. It was further assumed that effective communication implied some kind of feedback to the original communicator. The necessity for this in schools is obvious since the nature of pupil problems usually requires certain adjusted teacher behavior that can only come about through the teacher receiving new inforamtion.

A case study approach was used in appraising the communication systems of the various schools. Two teachers were selected in each school district, one from the elementary school and one from the high school, and asked if they had noticed any problems that students had with which they needed special help. This procedure was to be followed in each school until one case at each level was obtained. However, in practice it turned out that in some schools the investigators were unable to obtain a case although several teachers were interviewed.

Once a pupil problem was identified it was followed through its course of referrals by an interview with every available person who was professionally connected with the case.

This method is similar to an approach used by Davis[5] in apprais-

[3] Francis J. Daly. "Pupil Personnel Services," (Division of Pupil Personnel Services, New York State Department of Education). p. 1. (Mimeographed)

[4] Ibid.

[5] Keith Davis. "A Method of Studying Communication Patterns in Organizations," Personnel Psychology, Vol. 6. Number 3. (Autumn 1953). pp. 301-312.

ing industrial organizations which he calls "ecco analysis." It focuses on some item or unit of information in an organizational system and follows it through its course of time and space. The technique involves obtaining from each recipient of communicated information data as to how he received the information. The superiority of this technique over such methods as cross-section analysis, indirect analysis, or duty studies, is revealed in the dynamic information it produces. Using this method it is possible to determine, "the proportion of communications between each organizational level, the direction of communications in relation to organizational level, . . . the extent to which various media were used, distortion of facts in communication chains, and several other relationships."[6]

In order to quantify the case study material a technique suggested by Lazarsfeld and Robinson[7] was used. Rather than making an intuitive judgment on each case the procedure used for classification was to make a "pseudo-test of each case study." This was done by selecting items of information in each case study and giving them signed numerical values. Indicators were selected which were relevant to the classification system under study. The assigned numbers or scores were then combined by finding their arithmetic mean to establish a final index number. The classification system consisted of several defined continua, each having a neutral weight of zero. This method allowed for all of the relevant information in the case studies to be utilized in classifying the data. Further advantages of this system are that it objectifies the classification by demanding explicit evidence for classification; it allows for ratings along a continuum; and it considerably reduces the sampling variance in the classification of cases.

The continuum defined for this study is the efficiency of the schools' systems of treating deviant pupils in their populations. It was assumed that a school approached success in its treatment if either the problem was resolved or was in the process of being resolved in a manner which was consistent with sound psychological and/or educational principles. The procedure followed for evaluating the cases was divided into two subproblems. The first of these was a question of whether the school did or did not attempt to help deviant cases. If the school personnel did not take any action it was inferred that no system existed by which deviant pupils could be helped. This, of course, was only a theoretical inference since even

6 *Ibid.* p. 306.

7 Paul F. Lazarsfeld and W. S. Robinson, "The Quantification of Case Studies," *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. XXIV, December 1940, pp. 817-825.

the most unsystematic school eventually takes some kind of action with a deviant case. When the intensity of the disruption of the school functioning becomes strong enough machinery for resolution or elimination is inaugurated.

The second subproblem concerned itself with the identification and relative efficiency of the observed systems of referrals. The indicators used were classified as follows:

1. The existence of a formal system for referrals
2. The existence of an informal system for referrals
3. Action by referee
4. Record keeping
5. Feedback

The conversation of the indicators into numerical values was used to increase the objectivity of the individual cases. No attempt was made to make a statistical evaluation of the cases due to the limited size of the sample (13 schools) and the incompleteness of the data.

Each case was evaluated on the selected indicators to determine the variability in communications found among the schools. This evaluation was basically limited to a description of the patterns observed and is followed by two illustrative case studies. One of the case studies is presented to illustrate what the investigator considered an effective referral system. The other case study illustrates what was considered an ineffective referral system. These two cases also demonstrate the wide range of patterns that exist among schools in making referrals.

Findings

There was a sharp distinction observed between the high schools and elementary schools in the type of referral systems that were in existence. On both levels examples of effective and ineffective systems were found. However, the effective systems in the high schools tended to be formal and impersonal. Lines of communication were clearly defined for all levels and for all personnel. The high school teachers were primarily required to teach subject matter and pupil problems were to be referred to special school personnel whose responsibilities along these lines were clearly prescribed.

The elementary school teachers were responsible for the development of the "whole" child. Although they also referred the children to the pupil personnel services, they maintained an active role in any instituted treatment. The successful elementary schools were more inclined to perceive behavior difficulties as emotional problems. Elementary school teachers were more concerned with the social-emotional development of children and were interested in directly

helping children with social or emotional problems. Successful resolutions to referrals made in the elementary schools were carried out on an informal, personal basis.

In both the elementary school and high school the first referral, in the majority of cases, went to the principal who was expected to make the decision about what should be done with the pupil.

This was particularly true with the pupils who were classified as emotional or discipline problems. Twelve out of the 13 cases followed were referred directly to the building principal who either handled it himself or referred it on to another staff member.

The pattern of referrals and treatments used at the high school and elementary school levels also differed. In the high school behavior problems were viewed primarily as discipline problems and in most instances referred to the building principal, who in many instances treated the case himself. High school personnel used the threat of expulsion as their most cogent weapon in demanding conformity.

Common to both levels of education was the frequency of the oral method in making referrals. This occurred irrespective of whether or not the school had a printed form with which referrals were supposed to be made. Again, differences were found between levels in the kind of referrals made. Because of the relatively small size of the elementary schools the staff members were in frequent contact with one another. The organizations of the elementary schools were less complex and the areas of curriculum more interrelated than in the high schools. Teachers spent all of their time during the term with the same pupils. These factors, among others, enhanced the informal climate of the elementary schools and personalized intrastaff communications.

Most of the referrals in the elementary schools were also made directly to the principal although through unscheduled, daily contacts. If a teacher had a problem with which she needed help it was possible to discuss it at the time she would happen to meet the principal. The greater size and complexity of the high schools necessitated a more formal and structured system for making referrals. However, in most high schools, also, referrals and communication were done on an oral basis, the difference being that in the high schools teachers usually had to schedule appointments to see the administrator.

There exist many other conditions and possible causes which account for the differences in communication patterns between the elementary and secondary schools. The staff in the high schools are primarily identified by their positions and titles. The positions and

titles are generally perceived as having a hierarchy of status values. There is also greater diversity of positions in the high school. The attraction and opportunity for advancement is greater due to the vertical organization that exists. Theoretically, at least, the high school teacher can advance from a teaching position to the head or chairmanship of a department. From there the horizon offers several levels of supervisory or administrative positions. That status and role consciousness is prevalent in the high schools is clearly illustrated by the numerous high school organizations that demand pay differentials above elementary school teachers. Another condition which is conducive to formalism in the high schools is departmentalization. Within the total organization of the high schools there exist varying degrees of departmental autonomy. The teachers tend to identify more readily with their department than they do with their school. While communication may be informal within the department, because of the exclusive nature of departmentalization, interdepartmental communication is apt to be formal and, in many instances, absent.

In the light of the many aforementioned conditions, any future assessment of staff utilization must take into account the basic differences that exist between the primary and secondary levels. The identification and evaluation of existing patterns of staff utilization should be done at each level. Any comparison between levels should be directed towards identifying and evaluating the continuity that exists between them in terms of goals, methods and values.

CASE STUDIES

The variety of procedures used in making referrals in the schools studied appeared to be closely related to differences in educational philosophy. This relationship seemed especially strong when the type of problem was held constant. Examples of what were considered effective referrals and treatment systems are presented below. In the example of School A (the effective pattern) it can be readily discerned how a spirit of mental hygiene and respect for children has permeated the school staff. Each staff member knew what the others were doing in helping the child. Each staff member was used according to his particular skills. The school had a formal system for making referrals although many of the interpersonal exchanges that were necessary in treating a case took place on an informal basis. Adequate, up-to-date records were kept by all persons working on a case. The following is a condensation of the case study conducted in School A.

TEACHER INTERVIEW

The teacher has had conferences with the gym teacher who first

made the referral this term. The gym teacher reported the boy to his official class teacher for using curse words in the school yard. The class teacher already knew about the boy's difficulties through a conference with the child's previous year's teacher.

Conferences of teachers between grades is a common practice in the school. They are held for the purpose of acquainting the teachers with the pupils she will be getting for the coming year.

A psychologist-teacher conference was held on an informal basis concerning the teacher's approach to working with the child. "The psychologist made me feel that I was using the correct procedure in handling the child." This conference was a result of a teacher-principal conference about the child which was requested by the principal. The principal suggested to the teacher that she consult with the school psychologist.

An examination of the pupil's folder, kept by the teacher, indicated that the teachers who had the child in previous grades were aware of his difficulties and had some psychological sensitivity to the nature of his problems.

The folder contained the following items:

1. Cumulative record card filled in for each grade
    a. Comments such as, "Needs care and kindness. . . .,"
       were written by most teachers.
2. Three report cards
3. Nine reading tests
4. A speech therapy report
5. Two achievement tests
6. Several examples of pupil work

No official conference was held with school nurse although teacher stated that, "she knows child and has commented to me on how boy seems to be progressing."

NURSE INTERVIEW

The nurse knew of the boy although she was not involved in the psychological aspects of case. The medical form used by the school was complete and up-to-date.

PRINCIPAL INTERVIEW

The principal was completely familiar with the child and his family history. She had taught the child's father in high school. She had conferred with the child's previous teachers concerning his behavior. The recent teacher-principal conference resulted from the gym teacher's report to the principal about the gym incident. The principal conferred with the school psychologist about the boy. The

psychologist is in the school two days a week and has frequent contact with the principal.

The boy in this case has been receiving psychotherapy in a child guidance clinic in the city. The school did not make the agency referral.

The psychologist and the agency were working in close liaison on the case through telephone conferences and letters. The school was providing the agency with information about the boy's social behavior and achievement and the agency was explaining the dynamics of the boy's problem to the school psychologist. The psychologist then related the information to the principal and teacher.

The principal's folder contained the following items:

1. Iowa Test of Basic Skills Profile (this term)
2. Nineteen parent notes—permission for riding buses, going uptown, etc.
3. Otis Alpha
4. Letter to parent from principal—explanation of school grouping (2 single typed pages)
5. Letter from clinic to principal, 7/31/58—asking for cooperation
6. Two reports of speech therapist
7. Page of teacher comments (second grade)
8. Speech therapist report
9. Speech therapist report
10. Psychological report
11. Pintner

There is a strong mental hygiene approach to education in this elementary school. The teachers, special service personnel and administrators show an unusual awareness of the importance of the social and emotional needs of children. This feeling is evident in their conversations and notations about children. A similar attitude was reflected by the supervising principal who stated that his most important function was staff relations. The stress on mental hygiene was also evidenced through the type of record kept on pupils. Social and emotional reactions of pupils received the most notations on the cumulative record card.

The report cards although using a word marking system, stressed growth and development.

The general impression obtained of this school's personnel is that they are primarily concerned with the education and welfare of children and that their work is geared directly towards these ends.

An example of an ineffective (School B) referral and treatment system was found in a high school.

TEACHER INTERVIEW

Towards the beginning of the term the teacher requested a conference with the boy's parent because of his behavior. "First boy I ever hit." Request for parent conference was made through Supervisor of Testing.

"Other teachers also requested conference with this pupil's parent." The teacher made the request one day when she met the Supervisor in the hall. "Referrals can be made any way."

The supervisor wrote a letter to the parent requesting a conference but received no reply. Another letter and a phone call was made to the parent without results. To date, nothing has been done with the boy in the way of treatment.

The boy has recently been seen by a consulting psychologist to the school. However, the teacher did not know who made the referral or why it was made. According to the teacher the boy has a history of being in constant trouble.

SUPERVISOR OF TESTING INTERVIEW

The supervisor stated that, "In all of my contacts with the boy I find him very polite. I know he has been difficult in some classes." Her contacts with the boy have been very informal. She has seen him in either teachers' classrooms when she happened to be visiting or, by chance, in the halls. When asked if he was referred to her for any special reason she replied, "No, he's just one of the kids you run into." She did not know if anyone else had seen the boy or if anything was being done to help him or his teachers. She also had no remembrance of contacting his parents.

The school psychologist has not seen the pupil.

GUIDANCE DIRECTOR'S INTERVIEW

The guidance director knew the boy. He had had a conference with the mother and sister. He has tried to get father to come in but has not been successful. The guidance director felt that, "Tom's no problem if you're a good disciplinarian."

Although Schools A and B had an adequate number of teachers, supervisors, and pupil personnel services the pattern and quality of their referral systems was amazingly different. In contradistinction to School A, School B's staff functioned as isolated units with little communication among them. Concomitant to this was the lack of understanding and help for the pupil from the staff members. Because of the poor communication that existed the work and skills of the individual staff members were not utilized fruitfully nor judiciously.

Although the school had a psychologist who had seen the pupil, as far as the staff members who worked with the pupil were concerned, his labors were meaningless. To the teachers particularly the work of the specialist was useless since they received no information regarding the pupil.

There appeared to be no relationship between the patterns or effectiveness of the referral systems in the high schools and elementary schools. Even within the same school district it was found that the referral system at the high school level was radically different from that of the elementary school. In fact, it appeared that each school building within a district functioned as an autonomous unit with little coordination among them. On the basis of these observations it would be erroneous to study and evaluate schools by districts, except, perhaps, to identify those districts whose levels and buildings function continuously and harmoniously.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Staff utilization in this study was investigated through an evaluation of the operations of the communication that occurred in making referrals in the schools observed. The schools' referral systems were classified on the basis of five selected indicators. In analyzing the available data there appeared to be no rhyme or reason for finding differences in the referral systems when evaluated against hypothesized predictors. Effective systems were found in high expenditure and low expenditure schools; in schools with limited and in schools with extensive pupil personnel services; at the high school level and at the elementary school level; between school districts and within school districts. Similar variance was found in attempting to correlate these predictors with ineffective patterns for referrals.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The apparent confusion and lack of uniformity in communications (referrals) that was observed among schools has raised infinitely more questions than answers. However, it has certainly demonstrated the fact that the full utilization of staff members (particularly, pupil personnel services) is highly related to the kind and quality of the schools' channels of communication. The observations further imply that the study of communications can yield worthwhile information about school organization. Deutsch,[8] suggests that, "If we can map the pathways by which information is communicated between differ-

[8] Karl W. Deutsch, "On Communication Models in the Social Sciences," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Fall 1952, p. 367.

ent parts of an organization . . . we will have gone far toward under-standing that organization." The importance of an effective flow of information to the success of a group task is stressed my Bavelos.[9] Since the school is an organization composed of individuals with dif-fering skills but with a common purpose the application of communi-cation analysis has particular relevance to studying staff utilization. It is, therefore, suggested that the communication analysis approach be extended to other areas of the staff utilization project. One of the major advantages of this approach would be to eliminate the self-consciousness that was observed in many of the persons inter-viewed. It would place the emphasis of the interview on an operation rather than on the interviewee. Communication analysis yields in-formation about the school concerning what is, rather than what should be.

In following cases it was observed that the kinds of problems teachers identified varied among the schools. In some schools teachers seemed to be referring attendance problems, in others discipline prob-lems, and in still others medical problems. It would be possible, with a large enough sample, to factor out those organizational conditions that are correlated with the preponderance of specific pupil problems. Furthermore, given the same kind of problems, why do different schools wait for differing levels of intensity before inaugurating ac-tion? What kinds of actions are taken and what are they related to?

A consistent, although subjective, impression obtained was the intercorrelations among staff attitudes, school climate, and effective-ness of treating pupil problems. This is an area that might yield valuable information in the investigation of staff utilization.

The personal visits and observations vividly illustrated a dis-crepancy in many schools between stated policy and actual operations. In many cases the discrepancies were so large that it was difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the written word with what was seen. It would seem that in order to obtain information that has other than superficial value, data that threaten prestige and status should be collected indirectly and preferably first-hand.

[9] Alex Bavelos, "Communication Patterns in Task-Oriented Groups," In: Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, *The Language of Social Research*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 312.

Fred Guggenheim is a staff member of the Bureau of Curriculum Research, Board of Education, New York City.

UTILIZING NEWSPAPERS IN SOCIAL STUDIES

Marvin Lichtenberg

Few social studies teachers would quarrel with the desirability of teaching current events and utilizing newspapers as an important source of information for such teaching. A smaller, but still substantial, number would favor a problems approach. Most of the differences in the profession arise when we begin to discuss methodology or when we try to decide how much of the current scene should be utilized in teaching standard courses (history, government, economics, etc.) by a problems approach. That there is no one way satisfactory for all of us is too obvious to need mentioning. However, the approach recently adopted by a few of us in our department may be helpful to some and perhaps will motivate others to share their methods with us. While this experience has been with freshmen and sophomores on a college level, it is not difficult to imagine its adaptation for high school classrooms with few if any changes.

Our department has for fifteen or more years been dedicated to the proposition that the problems approach is the most satisfactory way of teaching social studies. We are partially responsible for preparing teachers for their profession. Some of these prospective teachers will do their work in the social studies areas. We have hoped that in addition to the ordinary learning which takes place (we hope) with all of our students, there would be a measure of retention of the problems approach for those who later teach in our field.

On the other hand, since our department and chairman believe strongly in academic freedom, each instructor has been free to modify his methods to suit his personality and individual philosophy. This has led to a wide variety of methods and in some cases to an almost complete loss of the problems approach and especially the use of current problems in the standard courses.

At about the same time last year, a few members of the department began to experiment with parts of the following approach and after some informal discussion borrowed freely from each other. Perhaps no one of us does everything reported here and since we are experimenting, by next semester undoubtedly some things will be done somewhat differently.

The following is used with appropriate variations in teaching the integrated social studies courses, with three or more units in each semester, as well as in teaching such standard courses as history, economics, government, etc. The students are urged to read a variety of newspapers especially those articles in the area of the subject matter of the unit or course. They are informed that they will be questioned on examinations on the materials in the news-

papers and their relationships to the other materials studied, as well as on the text book (if any), class discussions, etc.

To help them to learn to read more critically they are to complete the following assignment:

Students are to clip from the newspapers a designated number of appropriate items dependent on the length of the unit to which they are related. The number has varied from five to twenty-five. Each clipping must be from a different day so that they are exposed to a newspaper each day and must read at least enough to find an appropriate item. To insure more careful reading of each article, they must underline the three most important sentences in the article, excluding the first paragraph. In another color they must underline and be able to define or identify key words or terms as well as individuals and organizations of importance to understanding the article and the issues involved.

The next step is to choose from the total number of clippings a set number (usually one in five) and attach each of these to a sheet of paper. For each such clipping the student must then do some or all of the following, depending on the subject matter, the course, the emphasis and amount of other work required, and the differing views of the various instructors.

The students are first asked to summarize each of these selected articles in less than 100 words and with no quotations. They are next asked to state a problem in question form which they feel requires solution even though it may not be explicitly stated in the article. The succeeding steps are designed to give numerous experiences in critical thinking and problem solving.

In a short paragraph the students are asked to discuss the significance of the problem based on both authority and logic. They are to indicate briefly two alternative solutions and to choose one of these and give the reasons for their choice of one over the other. Finally the students are asked to select their clippings for this assignment so that they can do all of the preceding and also show at least two examples of slant, bias, exaggeration, inflammatory or otherwise colored words or any form of one-sidedness by the author or someone he quotes in the article.

Our experiences have not been all good (are they ever?) with this approach, but so far all of us feel they have been more satisfactory than anything else that we have attempted to achieve the stated goals. We are still searching and will welcome both criticisms and new ideas.

Marvin Lichtenberg is in the Division of Social Sciences of the Georgia State College for Women.

"OPEN ENROLLMENT: AN ASSESSMENT
Cyril Tyson

The "Open Enrollment" program of the Board of Education of New York City provides an opportunity to examine the major issues inherent in the pursuit of school integration. The "Open Enrollment" program is an endeavor to provide an integrated educational setting for children of Negro and Puerto-Rican parentage, by permitting them to transfer from "de facto" segregated schools to schools in white communities.

The basic question is whether the Board of Education has the right to exercise its prerogative to provide the best and most realistic education for its students. In today's world "best" and "realistic" are interchangable with "integrated." The assumption that the Board of Education had the right. and responsibility to provide the integrated educational setting and experience met with hostle reaction in some quarters. This position was confused in the minds of many with the Supreme Court's decision in the *Brown* case in May 1954. The Court finding that ". . . to separate (Negro children) from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone . . ." was taken by many to imply that race could not be a factor in the moving of children even for integration. Since "de facto" rather than "de jure" segregation existed in northern communities, some held that the Board of Education was powerless to effect integration without violating the Supreme Court decision.

Judge Irving Kaufman, alluded to just such a situation in reaction to the New Rochelle Board of Education's concern over providing services specifically to a given minority group. Judge Kaufman stated in part. ". . . the Constitution is not this color blind . . . there are instances where it is not only justified, but necessary, to provide for such allegedly "unequal treatment" in order to achieve the equality guaranteed by the Constitution." This was clear recognition of the need to provide unequal treatment (in New York City's case recognition of "race") in order to achieve ultimate equality.

The role of Education is recognized as crucial in the development of an informed public and viable democracy. Through our country's history various educational trends have evolved in attempts to maintain this viability. The drive to eliminate illiteracy, which induced the compulsory educational law; the development of the Vocational Schools, resulting from industrialization; the emphasis on Americanism and assimilation, flowing from the previously dominant "melting

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pot" approach to the non-Northern European immigrant. The educator's main responsibility involved creation of the administrative procedure, curriculum, and climate to properly prepare the student for the demands made upon him by recurring societal change. Where social innovations fostered new demands, educational approaches were adjusted to meet the challange. Today, social change in our country and throughout the world has initiated an entire new order of demands upon the educational ingenuity of America. The attempt to forge positive relationships with the emerging non-white countries of the world, the programs designed to uncover scientific talent and our anxiety concerning the development of the "specially gifts" student, manifest our determination to meet this challange.

The Supreme Court decision on school desegregation constitutes another force for social change. The *Brown* decision contributed to our realization that no group can be set apart from the remainder in educational institutions, without damaging all those involved in the educational process. To the Negro this damage openely manifests itself through inferior facilities, teachers, curriculum, achievement levels and per capita expenditure. Psychologically, both the Negro and white students are affected. Self-evaluations on the part of the white student are unrealistic and result from the superior position held in the social structure because his skin is white. The Negro is a product of a value system which regulates certain phenotypic manifestations, over which he has no control, to the lowest level of the system.

Again, in curriculum, the Negro and the white student are adversely affected, This occurs in the segregated white and Negro educational institutions as well as the "integrated" schools. The white person's view and expectation of the Negro, as indeed the Negro's view of himself, is affected by the treatment of the Negro in curriculum. There is evidence of but a scattered mention of the Negro's real role in the development of our society. The dignity of his African heritage; language, customs, folkways, traditions, is destroyed through an historical approach which roots the Negro's development to slavery; rather than viewing the condition as a transitional phase from one culture to another. Our elementary school readers still do not include illustrations of Negroes. Today, such approaches to learning can no longer be tolerated. Students must be prepared to function in a pluralistic society. In order to achieve this, the best and most realistic education is one which is integrated.

Properly instituted *integrated education is the organic uniting of administration, teachers, curriculum, and students of diverse cultures*

and colors into an educational whole. It transcends the mechanical moving of students. It is a commitment to a new educational concept. If the Board of Education in northern communities recognized this concept, the issue of "race" as such would not be *the* factor in the moving of children. The Board of Education would be recognizing their responsibility to provide the best education for its students, and to spell out the ingredients of such an education. The greatest mistake that could be made is the assumption that it is "business as usual" in the desegregated school. The failure to articulate the integrated educational experience is crucial in securing Negro and white community support for such an experience.

Basic to the integrated educational experience is the acceptance of "cultural pluralism," which replaces the old "melting pot" approach to people of diverse cultural heritage. Cultural pluralism is a recognition that the threads of intrinsic unity, long sought in our ethnocentric approach to people of different cultures and colors, exist in the essence of man and is not a function of cultural monoism. Under cultural pluralism the problem is no longer one of "assimilation" on the part of the "out" group, but rather preserving those elements of the "foreign" culture which contribute to the development of a society. Education within the integrated setting assumes a character quite different from its role when the "melting pot" psychology was prevalent. Instead of the suppression of the customs, traditions, folkways . . . yes, and even the language of a people ; Education moves to identify these elements of culture, creating an atmosphere for understanding appreciation and acceptance of them. Cultural pluralism permits the essentials of culture to manifest their dignity as a contribution to the integrated educational experience.

Society is continually changing in scope and intensity, making it extremely difficult to develop citizens capable of effectively functioning with others of diverse cultures and colors without adequate preparation. Since all the skills needed to exist are acquired after birth, we must alter the view that education is measured by achievement levels and scholarship alone. We should recognize that the ability to accept the equal essence of man, cultural differences, and self images unbiased by prejudice and misconceptions of self worth, are all intrinsic to good education. Man must learn to live with others in dignity before his capabilities can be fully manifested. Education can, and *must* provide the tools, techniques and avenues through which such existence can be assured.

"Open Enrollment," then as a process, is just one aspect of school integration. It provides the educational setting conducive to

the integrated educational experience. It is folly to assme that the mere proximity of students to each other is the only requirement necessary to undo generations of inadequate education. Now, as in the past, physical integration without a sound commitment will not provide the education necessary for this generation of children. Only when there is consensus on the educational ingredients inherent in the process will we properly prepare our children for the demands which will be made upon them in their time.

Cyril Tyson is a staff member of the Commission on Intergroup Relations of New York City.

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